UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Palestine: The Promised Land - - - - - - - - - - - - *Miriam Ziony*

Wells and Shaw: Two Independent Socialists - - - - - - - - - - - - *Victor S. Yarros*

The Furled Flag - - *May Stranathan*

Common Wealth and Common Sense - - - - - - - - - - - - *George McLure*

New Words for Old - *Herbert A. Sturges*

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Separation of Church and State

I. *A Statement* — Kenneth Walker, U.F.S.J. President, has appointed Edwin H. Wilson, 1201 Union Street, Schenectady 8, New York, to lead action on behalf of maintenance of separation of church and state. In this work the Chairman is using all contacts available to unite the forces that are working to check the advance of sectarianism in the public schools. The committee will consist of any Unitarian who is in a community where the issues of released time from public education for religious education, state aid to parochial schools, credit for sectarian instruction in public high school graduation, or other incursions of the sects into our public schools are at issue, and who will work actively as a representative of this committee to help organize for a continuing struggle. We are in for a long, hard fight. Volunteer now for committee work.

II. *Report on Organizational Work*— (a) Taking his cue from the *Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State* (963 Penobscot Building, Detroit 26, Michigan) on which Merrill Bates and Tracy Pullman are working in Detroit, the Chairman called a meeting in Chicago on October first and there was then organized a now functioning Chicago Area Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State, c/o Citizens' Schools Committee, 185 N. Wabash Avenue—a widely representative group of persons with church, educational, or civic affiliations.

(b) *The American Education Fellowship* (formerly Progressive Education Association) 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., has on the recommendation of the Chairman established a Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State and is now considering recommendations that their committee: (1) Take the initiative in setting up a New York Area Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State; (2) Act as a clearing house for information on issues of separation, help coordinate the various area committees and set up new ones elsewhere; (3) Issue action "memos" and make literature available to any person or group paying for them at cost.

(c) In June, the Chairman of this committee called widespread attention to the practice in New York State of giving Regent's credit for high school graduation for courses conducted by ministers or priests over which local school authorities have no jurisdiction as to standards or performance. The Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith has a committee working on this; Prof. H. Van R. Wilson of the University of Brooklyn and member of the Brooklyn Unitarian Church is its Chairman. The American Education Fellowship also is

(*Continued on page* 174)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

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EDITORIAL

The Year 1 A.A.

We look back upon a slow-moving age when we were dependent for power on wind and water, coal and oil; we look forward to a fast-moving age in which nuclear energy will supply power for the world. That was a picturesque age with its windmills and water wheels, smokestacks and oil wells; and we note its passing with a sense of regret. We enter upon the age of atomic energy with trepidation, due perhaps to the circumstances under which atomic energy was first released; but such regrets and trepidations should, and no doubt will, soon pass away. There is no reason to suppose that mankind has any overwhelming desire to commit collective suicide, dire predictions to the contrary notwithstanding. More quickly than we can now realize we shall come to feel at home with this new force and shall use it in doing the work of the world. Happily there are values that do not pass with the passing ages. Love and loyalty, courage and devotion, graciousness and dignity, and all such, are not subject to the laws of nuclear physics. The voice of the prophets of doom will be silenced by the rhythmic steps of humanity marching on to greater triumphs of mind and spirit.

U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

It seems to be generally agreed that the United States and the Soviet Union are the two world powers around which the other nations tend to group. To some observers this means lining up for World War III. To others it means such a balance of power as to make war less likely. In any event it makes relations between these two great powers a matter of the greatest importance. They can disagree and carry the world down to utter destruction, or they can agree and unite their power in the building of a world of peace and abundance. There are no irreconcilable differences between them. Agreement on the part of these two centers of power is so important that only a political maniac would want to stir up strife between them. And yet there are persons, journals, and organizations that seem bent on doing this very thing. All people of good will should try to understand the respective points of view, the interests and the needs of the United States and the Soviet Union, and should work diligently to reconcile interests and adjust differences. Honest and straightforward diplomacy is called for on both sides. Neither should be arbitrary or overbearing. Both should show the intelligence in the matter of give and take that is characteristic of political maturity.

Peace Plans

There is no one single way of organizing the world for peace. There are many possible ways; but we do not know which of them is certainly best. The problem of organizing the world for peace, therefore, is in an area where dogmatism is especially repugnant and where the experimental attitude is especially appropriate. All possible plans should be considered and discussed, but it is a mistake to commit oneself irrevocably to any one plan. Likewise, it is a mistake to pass final and devastating judgments on statesmen because of their position at any given time on any particular notion of how the world should best be organized for peace. Issues change, thinking is clarified, problems are resolved, and men grow in understanding. All of which is just to say that liberals should maintain their characteristic poise in the midst of jingoistic and partisan discussion of international affairs.

A World Republic

Among the many schemes and suggestions for organizing the world for peace is that of Hon. Glen H. Taylor, U. S. Senator from Idaho. On October 24, 1945, Senator Taylor introduced a resolution in the U. S. Senate, which sought to commit the United States to work through its delegates to the United Nations Organization for a World Republic based on thoroughgoing democratic principles and practices. The resolution called upon the President of the United States to instruct our delegates to the United Nations Organization to propose the creation of a commission to prepare such conventions, agreements, and treaties as would be necessary for the establishment of a World Republic based on democratic principles and universal suffrage. In support of this proposal Senator Taylor delivered an effective address in behalf of one world. While such proposals will make slow headway, the mere fact that responsible men propose and defend them is evidence that modern trends of thought are in the direction of a world order. In the atomic age isolation is impossible and progress toward world unity is imperative.

CURTIS W. REESE

Palestine: The Promised Land

MIRIAM ZIONY

Nowhere have the facts been more confused or the truth worse confounded than on the Palestine question during this quarter of a century while the Jewish people have been waiting patiently and trustingly for the fulfillment of the promise made to them in the Balfour Declaration, the Versailles Treaty, and the British Mandate.

As President Truman declared in his letter of last August 31, addressed to Prime Minister Clement Attlee of Great Britain and again more recently in sympathetic and forthright statements, immediate action without further delay is urgent.

Recent attacks upon Jews in Egypt and Tripolitania, in Poland and in the Argentine; a growing anti-Semitism in many other parts of the globe; and the present plight of the 1,250,000 Jews who survived Hitler's concentration camps and gas chambers, make imperative an immediate settlement by the "Christian" world of what it calls the Arab-Jewish problem.

President Truman's Christmas announcement that immediate steps would be taken to set up the machinery for issuance of American immigration visas, within present immigration quotas, to 3,900 Europeans a month has helped to raise the hopes of the homeless Jewish refugees and will forever be remembered with gratitude by Jews everywhere.

However, even if all of the 3,900 visas per month were given to Jews only—as of course will not be the case—it would take over 25 months, or more than two years, to provide for the 100,000 Jews still in German camps and among those most in need of rescue. To bring here *all* of the displaced Jews left alive in the "European graveyard" would require, even at the rate of 3,900 per month, a total of 320 months, or about 27 years.

It is more than a partial solution that is needed now and more than a place where the Jews may again be allowed to live on sufferance, exposed to new anti-Jewish propaganda and prejudice, to the possibility of new persecutions and new pogroms.

The immediate question is still the right of admission into Palestine for those homeless Jews of Europe who have very little other hope of survival. It is, moreover, still part of another question. The right of the Jewish people to Palestine as a free and independent National Home and State must be assured now, once and for all, without any new postponements or subterfuges, without subjection to new imperialistic intrigue —whether it be British, Fascist, or Communistic, or an oilier form of American imperialism—under the guise of a United Nations "trusteeship."

It is not true, as many people have been led to believe, that "the British have been in the position of trying to reconcile the irreconcilable" in Palestine. Nor is it true, as Mr. Bevin is reported to have remarked not long ago, that Great Britain "never undertook to establish a Jewish state."

Surely the members of the British Labor Government—Mr. Attlee, Mr. Bevin, and the rest—should not now have to be reminded of the trust that has been betrayed. For it was as minority members of Parliament that they were the most outspoken and the most emphatic in their denunciation of British imperialism; in their demands for an accounting by the Churchill government, and by previous governments, of the machinations in the Colonial Office and in England that have been the primary cause of all the troubles in Palestine. Surely they have not so soon forgotten their own insistence, as minority members, on abrogation of the British White Paper and on explanation by the Churchill government of the suppression of free speech and free press in Palestine and the banishment of Palestinian Jews to unknown jails and concentration camps without trial or due process of law.

An independent Jewish Palestine with equal rights of citizenship for all Arabs and other non-Jews within its borders, as envisioned in the Balfour Declaration, would be the bulwark of democracy in the East today. What the United Nations do now towards fulfillment of the Zionist hopes for freedom and independence, will be the measuring rod of their sincerity and honesty of purpose and of promise to bring freedom and justice for all colonial and other subjugated peoples that have hoped and prayed for freedom and justice without avail.

That the Balfour Declaration favoring the "establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" was considered from the start as far more than merely approval of Jewish immigration into an Arab or British controlled Palestine, is implicit in the proviso which it contains that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." Moreover, this can be seen from the Versailles Treaty itself, as well as from statements made by responsible spokesmen of various nations that approved and confirmed both the Declaration and the British Mandate under the League of Nations.

In Article 22 of the Versailles Treaty there were laid down certain procedures and principles regarding mandated territories; and countries that were given mandates were required to make periodic reports on their trusteeship, to the League.

Paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 22 read as follows:

> The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances.
>
> Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Although several other countries also wanted the job, the Zionists, to their sorrow, chose England as the one to help them "facilitate the achievement" of their hopes and dreams.

How other nations interpreted the promise made in the Balfour Declaration and in the Mandate is very clear from various messages of approbation and approval, in the days before the issues were deliberately confused and confounded.

The head of the Serbian Mission to the United States, in a letter written in December, 1917, stated

that "it will be a sad thing for us to see any of our Jewish fellow-citizens leaving us to return to their promised land, but we shall console ourselves in the hope that they will stand as brothers and leave with us a good part of their hearts and that they will be the strongest tie between free Israel and Serbia."

The Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs declared in the Chamber of Deputies on March 14, 1918: "I have already had occasion in Salonika to express the very sincere sympathy of the Liberal Party and of all Hellenes for the Jewish Nation, for twenty centuries the victim of misunderstandings and persecutions . . . I address with emotion to the Jewish race all my wishes for their establishment as a nation."

"The Royal Siamese Government," in a statement issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Siam on August 12, 1918, "express[ed] its accord with the sympathetic position taken by its Allies with reference to the establishment of Palestine as a National Home for the Jewish people, and in co-operation with the Allied Powers will use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object . . ."

The Chinese Government, on December 14, 1918, also expressed "its complete accord with Great Britain's proposals for the restoration of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people" and promised "to co-operate with her Allies at the Peace Conference in the attaining of that object."

And contrary to the opinion created by those whose business has been one of dividing in order to do the ruling, Arab leaders and the Arab people, long before the first World War and before the Mandate, not only welcomed and encouraged the Jewish national movement and Palestine colonization, but even expressed the hope that through the Zionist movement, rather than through the European imperialist powers, would their own nationalist movement be best advanced.

On January 3, 1919, Prince Feisál, son of King Hussein of the Hedjaz, later proclaimed King of Syria by a Syrian national congress (March, 1920) and in 1921 made King of Iraq by the British, was co-signer with Dr. Chaim Weitzmann, of the Zionist Organization, of an agreement made in London, according to which "the Arab State and Palestine in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most cordial good will and understanding, and to this end Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in the respective territories." According to this signed agreement, moreover, it was specifically indicated that "the definite boundaries between the Arab State and Palestine shall be determined by a Commission to be agreed upon by the parties hereto" and "all necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land . . ."

Freedom of religion for all was promised by the Zionists, and Arab peasants and tenant farmers were assured protection in their civil rights and assistance "in forwarding their economic development."

In a letter written March 3, 1919, to a noted American Zionist, Prince Feisál re-affirmed his approval of Jewish aspirations in Palestine thus:

> We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar oppression at the hands of powers stronger than themselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first step towards the attainment of their national ideals together.
>
> We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best in so far as we are concerned, to help them through; we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home.
>
> . . . The Jewish movement is national and not imperialist. Our movement is national and not imperialist, and there is room in Syria for us both. Indeed I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

Even among Arabs who were opposed to a separate Palestinian state for the Jews there was a feeling of good will and sympathy. For instance, the Central Syrian Committee at the Peace Conference repudiated Feisál's authority and claimed that Palestine was "incontestably the Southern portion of" Syria. Yet even this group offered the Jews autonomy in a Syrian federation.

Said their spokesman, M. Chekri Ganem, in February, 1919:

> We have suffered too much from sufferings resembling theirs [the Zionists'], not to throw open wide to them the doors of Palestine, but in an autonomous Palestine, connected with Syria by the sole bond of federation. . . .
>
> If they form the majority there they will be the rulers. If they are in the minority, they will be represented in the Government in proportion to their numbers.

Palestine today is but a tiny speck upon the map of the million square miles of territory over which the Arab lands extend. Of the 60,000 square miles originally determined as Palestinian after the Peace Conference, there now remain only about 10,000 square miles. The rest has been taken away by the British or given up by the Jews to Trans-Jordanian and other Arab jurisdiction, in the hope that the small area left would eventually be theirs as a Homeland in accordance with all the promises that had been made to them.

Not only have Arab rights in Palestine been protected and safeguarded by the Zionists, but the health and welfare and living standards of the Palestine Arabs are today far better than that of the Arabs in other territories. And this has been due in no small measure to better opportunities and to more scientific and more democratic methods of living and working introduced by the Jews, as acknowledged many times even in British government reports.

Jewish rights, on the other hand, have at every turn been violated and abrogated—in the land that was supposed to have been restored to them as their Home—by the British government and its representatives pledged to the fulfillment of that restoration.

Arabs have been permitted to purchase land anywhere in Palestine. Purchase of land in a very large portion of Palestine has been *verboten* to the Jews by British decree, even when the Arabs have wanted to sell.

Arabs and people of any other race or nationality can come to live in Palestine without question. Two hundred thousand Poles (non-Jewish) who did not want to return to a Russian-dominated Poland, found a haven in Palestine during the war and are still there. But the admission of Jews, restricted by the infamous White Paper, has become illegal now, and the British labor government troops stand armed with machine guns and airplanes to hunt and shoot down any Jew that might dare to seek a refuge "illegally" in the land of his forefathers—his own land under the Balfour

Declaration.

Six million Jews were murdered by the Nazis, according to revelations made at the Nürnberg trials. Many thousands of them could have been saved if only the gates of Palestine had been opened by Britain to permit them to enter. There is no use talking about them now. Death has liberated them from their sufferings.

It is the million and a quarter Jews still left alive in the European devastation that need an open gate and an open heart now. By all the evidence already available, it will be too late for many of these, also, if their rescue has to wait upon the collection of new evidence and the making of more surveys by the newly appointed Anglo-American Commission until the end of April!

By a 17 to 1 vote, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on December 12, called for free entry of Jews into Palestine "to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities," and the "upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home." A similar resolution was unanimously adopted by the House Foreign Relations Committee later. The constructive solution that world Zionism, the Jews in Palestine as well as the homeless and hopeless remnant of European Jews await, is release from the British Mandate, the establishment of a free and independent Jewish commonwealth and the restoration of Palestine as a Jewish state —without benefit of any new entanglements and manipulations under the aegis of a United Nations "trusteeship," under British or Communistic influence or otherwise.

Palestine has never belonged to England. It was mandated to her only temporarily as a trust under the League of Nations. "In truth and in fact," in the words of Representative Thomas F. Burchill in the Congressional Record of February 16, 1944, "the Jewish national home in Palestine has been a world-sanctioned experiment in democracy. It must be protected and cherished today as an outpost of freedom and social justice." Certainly by their achievement there during the past 26 years the Jews have earned the right to freedom. Jewish right to Palestine has been endorsed both by the Democratic and the Republican party platforms. Prominent Catholic and Protestant leaders in all parts of the world have long espoused the Jewish cause. The Pope more than once has declared himself in behalf of the Jewish homeland.

"People less informed and less responsible than our leaders and yours," Prince Feisál had cautioned in his letter cited previously in this article, "have been trying to exploit the local difficulties that must necessarily arise in Palestine in the early stages of our movements . . . with the result that interested parties have been able to make capital out of what they call our differences."

How much capital has been made by selfish interests during this quarter of a century in Palestine, neither the Arab world nor the Jews have as yet fully realized. It is not too strange to hear the new argument being brought forth these days that the Arabs have nothing against the Jews as Jews but that they do not like the Zionists. Just so have the Russian Communists always spoken. In Biro-Bidjan some years ago the Soviet government offered the Jews a Soviet Republic of their own. Then after Jewish settlers developed and built up Biro-Bidjan, their leaders were "liquidated" by the Communists for believing in Zionism, while the Communists in their official propaganda reports boasted of the liquidations.

With the help of the American Jews and under the direction and administration of Jewish welfare, relief, and religious agencies in the United States and in Palestine, every one of the European Jews could be taken care of in Palestine now in temporary shelters as rapidly as transportation is made available, and until more permanent homes are provided for them.

Wells and Shaw: Two Independent Socialists

VICTOR S. YARROS

Several Anglo-Saxon and American generations have been molded and guided, to a very considerable degree, by Herbert G. Wells, novelist, radical social thinker, and independent Socialist, and by George Bernard Shaw, brilliant, paradoxical, indefatigable playwright, critic, essayist, and independent Fabian Socialist. Neither of these gifted, influential and famous reformers can be claimed by any party, faction, or school. Both have had, and have preached, ideas of their own. Both have freely, sometimes aggressively, criticized their respective comrades and co-workers. Both, however, have done much to promote the evolutionary Socialist movement. We owe them much, but we cannot blink at their weaknesses and aberrations. Both have posed as sober realists, and both have indulged in Utopian dreaming and erratic philosophizing.

Wells has assailed Marxian Socialism bitterly and savagely. Lenin called him, contemptuously, "a little bourgeois." Wells has also ridiculed the Fabian leaders; he has railed at their timidity and dread of insecurity and of danger of social disorder and strife. They are mostly, he pointed out, civil servants, living on small but regular salaries and expecting pensions in old age. Such men—shy, nervous—according to Wells, do not shake the world, do not lead or inspire masses of disinherited and discontented victims of privilege and injustice.

But, while Wells has been a champion of radical changes, of internationalism, of world-government, of thoroughgoing economic democracy, he has never had clear, definite opinions regarding the means, processes, machinery, and type of leadership and generalship required to effectuate the necessary and desirable reforms in economic, political, and social relations. From the people, he has said frankly, we can expect no help whatever, since they are too ignorant, too unstable, too gullible, too unreliable.

The truth is, Wells is not a genuine democrat. His own humble birth appears to have given him an inferiority complex, and he admires the British aristocracy while rationalizing his feeling by assuring himself that it is the aristocracy of intellect, nobility, and service that he cherishes, not the actual aristocracy of Britain.

How, then, would Wells transform and elevate the society he condemns, and to what groups does he look

for effective leadership? He has at different periods had different notions. At one time he counted upon the engineers, technicians, and industrial managers who—he thought with Veblen—are not interested in the profit motive, have no low ambition, do not worship success, believe in efficiency of the right kind, and might undertake the reconstruction of the present system for the good of the whole community. He was not long in discarding this hope or expectation. At another time he was disposed to think that elderly and prosperous men of affairs, experienced and broad-minded executives, when contemplating retirement, would resolve to turn over their plants to cooperatives formed by their employes, and rejoice in the opportunity thus granted them of conferring great benefits on faithful employes without sacrificing anything worthy or important. The actual example of an Irish industrialist and peer suggested this solution to Wells, as he subsequently disclosed. But he soon realized that very few men of affairs are at all likely to follow the example of the altruistic and enlightened peer. Finally, Wells reached the conclusion that only in the most liberal and humane kind of education, would social salvation ultimately be found. The race, he has said many times, "is between education and catastrophe," and there is little time to be lost. But now, in his old age and rapidly declining health, Wells has despaired of humanity, and is extremely pessimistic. The atomic bomb spells the end of civilization, he thinks, and all he now recommends is stoicism and resignation. Like Tolstoy, perhaps, he would prescribe universal suicide for the wretched, irredeemable human race.

Wells may not be long remembered as a novelist, as he fully realizes. Yet he has written several very remarkable novels: *Tono-Bungay, Ann Veronica, The World of William Clissold,* and others. In these he has expounded his personal views on society, education, government, the economic system, theology, history, letters, and the ignorant treatment of sex in modern pseudo-Christian civilizations. Many of his specific opinions are as sound as they are vigorously expressed. In fact, his vitality and literary power are extraordinary. He is better as an analyst, a dissector, a challenger and agitator, a destroyer of conventions and superstitions than as a positive and constructive philosopher. There can be no doubt, though, that he has won many converts to Socialism and rationalism.

George Bernard Shaw, another prolific and amazingly versatile writer and thinker, has always been a law unto himself. He has been a sort of *enfant terrible* of the radical reform movement. A co-founder of the Fabian school, he has never been a consistent Fabian. He disagreed with some of their beliefs. For example, he has insisted, until lately, upon equality of incomes under Socialism. That is Communism, not Fabian Socialism. In recent years, he has advocated the abolition of gross and scandalous inequalities in income only. His new "practical" test is the possibility or likelihood of intermarriage between classes. The very rich and the poor do not intermarry, he says, and that separation is fatal to intellectual and moral progress, prevents eugenic mating, creates deep class antagonisms. Few Fabians share this view.

Shaw has been for several decades an earnest Socialist, but he has not made many converts. He is too whimsical, too erratic. He has even found merit in Mussolini and Fascism, because these "have done things." He has denounced Parliament and government by discussion because these institutions are slow, uncertain, incapable of dealing energetically with emergencies. He has, by implication, favored dictatorships. He has often played the part of a clown. His extravagances and exaggerations have made people smile or laugh, but he has paid a penalty—he has not been taken seriously.

Even in his perfectly sober moods, Shaw has, as he confesses, "habitually and deliberately overstated [his] case." This, in essays or books meant to be persuasive, is invariably detrimental. Shaw is a keen economist, and no one has written on rent and interest more profoundly than he, but he spoils his argument by lapses into eccentricity and caricature. Wit is not enough. The propagandist of new ideas must never forget the role of good sense in controversy. Shaw has often outraged common sense—especially in his treatment of the first World War. He cannot resist the temptation to bewilder and shock the middle class and the politicians.

As a playwright, Shaw has been uniquely successful. Several of his comedies—drama he cannot manage—are a permanent feature of the world's theatrical repertory. His *Candida, Pygmalion, Caesar and Cleopatra,* and others, are delightful and flawless. Some are dated rather badly, and others have been too verbose and "talky" to hold audiences. Max Beerbohm called his plays Platonic dialogues. In his plays Shaw never preaches sermons. Where a social moral is discernible, it is not obtrusive or obvious. Shaw cannot be vulgar or coarse. He has never offended against civilized taste. He is essentially a Puritan. He is not a Christian, but his ideas on religion are conservative. He refuses to put the Agnostic label on himself. He believes in the "Life Force," another name for vitalism. He says he is too old to examine critically the newer religious concepts. About his attitude toward marriage and the family there is nothing heterodox or unconventional. He has had no sympathy with the fads and fancies of the recent art schools. He has been a sound critic of music and the drama, and a penetrating one. But his interpretation of the Wagner Ring of the Nibelungen is fantastic and little short of absurd. He thinks it is a Socialist tract, an indictment of capitalism, greed, and commercialism. Few musicians or writers agree with him in this odd notion.

Certainly the Nazis did not agree!

Shaw's dislike of the United States, repeatedly proclaimed without rhyme or reason, is a striking illustration of sheer "crankiness." He finally condescended, after much coaxing by American admirers, to "stop over" in New York for one day and deliver one address, in belated acknowledgment, as he said, of his profound debt to Henry George, the single taxer, whose book, *Progress and Poverty,* it appears, first opened Shaw's eyes to the iniquity of land monopoly and the imperative necessity of getting rid of it as the principal obstacle to human advancement. Now, Shaw never adopted Henry George's theory, never advocated the single tax on rent, never shared George's objections to Socialism. He read George, but he joined the Fabian Society, with which George had no sympathy whatever. Decidedly, here is a double paradox, typically Shavian. But Shaw has boasted of his independence of, and superiority to, logic. What his substitute for logic is, we have not been told. It is not common sense. He has so puzzled and irritated people that many have doubted his intellectual integrity and have just declined to take

him seriously on *any* question. This is a pity, but he has no one but himself to blame. The radical reform movement can use satire, irony, humor, invective, in addition to sober argument, but it is not aided by trifling and clowning. Shaw complains that no one has really understood him. Has he understood himself?

Both Wells and Shaw have bemoaned the brevity of the human span of life. Both think that they have not said all they have to say and would like to say to mankind. Oh, if they only could have another quarter of a century! But, as a matter of fact, they have been merely repeating themselves in recent years. They have nothing to add to their respective instructions and injunctions. We are grateful to them, but they will not be missed by many forward-looking people. "They have passed into history."

The Furled Flag

MAY STRANATHAN

Though Christianity is generally mentioned before Democracy when we declare the two precious heritages we have fought to preserve, yet—while the American flag has long since invaded the churches and in many of them has been given a place on one side of the pulpit opposite the Christian flag and is saluted and pledged allegiance at many church gatherings—who has seen the Christion flag unfurled and saluted with a pledge of allegiance? Who has heard of a Christian being called before the church session or conference and reprimanded for refusing to salute this flag. Who has known him to be given a chance to salute it? Has anyone been accused of treason to the cause of the Prince of Peace by such a refusal, or have his children been denied the privileges of the Sunday School or the public school for such an offense?

That there is a Christian flag will be news to many Christians, yet there has been one since 1897. For some time now I have noticed a furled flag on the opposite side of pulpit platforms from the American flag, and have wondered what it was. Though some members of churches knew of the flag, none that I asked could tell what was on it, not even teachers in the Sunday schools; and even one pastor, of whom inquiry was made, could tell nothing of its origin. On the suggestion of a teacher in the Sunday School I wrote to the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church and received in reply a tiny booklet with the information that Charles Carlton Overton, Superintendent of the Brighton Chapel Sunday School, Coney Island—speaking at a rally meeting and noticing the American flag draped over one corner of the pulpit—was inspired to suggest a Christian flag for the churches, for which he outlined a plan. This flag would not be restricted to any geographical boundaries, but would remind all men of their allegiance to God. He pictured for this flag a white field, symbol of purity, innocence, and peace, with a corner of deep blue, symbol of faith, trust, and sincerity. On this deep blue ground he pictured the cross of Christ, emblazoned in scarlet.

This idea took such a firm hold on Mr. Overton that he at once had such a flag made and draped it over the other corner of the pulpit. The first Christian flag was made by a Mr. Annin, a flag manufacturer of New York, who did much to help the originator secure its adoption. "Twice Blest," the little booklet about the flag, says, "Its use has spread by leaps and bounds, and it is found in nearly every city and village in the United States and has spread across the ocean until it has encircled the world."

The Christian flag had been in existence for more than eleven years before a pledge of allegiance to it was adopted. At a conference of Sunday School workers in Brooklyn, the Reverend Linn Hough suggested such a pledge and on request he prepared one which was used for the first time on Christmas Eve, 1908, in his church, the Third Methodist Episcopal, Long Island City, N. Y. The pledge says: "I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the Saviour for whose kingdom it stands; one brotherhood, uniting all mankind in service and love."

How different the world might be today if in all the countries comprising what is known as Christendom, of all sects and races, devotion to this flag had matched the devotion to the flags of nations; if it had been displayed and pledged allegiance in every church, cathedral, and place of Christian services on every continent where missionaries have gone to proclaim the gospel of peace on earth, good will toward all men; if the Christian battle cry had been heard till our children should give back their cradle shout of "Peace"!

The booklet on the Christian flag says:

> There is a special fitness in emphasizing the significance of the Christian flag in the churches and Sunday schools of America just at this crucial time of world war and world chaos. Patriotic loyalty and self-sacrifice are common topics. In contrast to all this devotion to a single state, the Christian flag bears no symbol of warfare nor of conquest. It is equally significant to all nations. It stands for no creed or denomination, but for Christianity. It is the banner of the Prince of Peace. The Christian patriot who salutes it pledges allegiance to the Kingdom of God.

We prate of the "peace-loving nations," but had the spirit of the Christian flag been as alive in the world as the spirit of keeping what we have or even of gaining more, instead of appearing a hollow mockery, the words of the familiar song might now be true:

> He rules the world with truth and grace,
> And makes the nations prove
> The glories of his righteousness
> And wonders of his love.

An American missionary in Zululand, South Africa, wrote to a friend who had sent him a Christian flag:

> The flag you sent our station is used specially as a signal to the natives when it is Sunday and Christian services are to be held. The people here do not know one day from another and each Sunday this flag floats from a high pole on a hilltop where it can be seen for miles around and serves the natives as a call to prayer.

At one of the largest gatherings ever held in Exeter Hall, London, an American visitor found the Christian flag dominating the platform. Another traveler, attending a convention in the city of Shanghai, found the Christian flag occupying the place of honor above the flags of all nations. Yet in the churches of the land of its origin this flag remains furled and forgotten, except by that small group of ministers who have decreed that it is the only flag that shall be displayed in their houses of worship.

Common Wealth and Common Sense

GEORGE McLURE

The commonly understood rights of a political democracy are the fundamental rights,—that is, they are fundamental to the existence of democracy itself. The freedoms of Western civilization are hard-won. They had to be fought for, and can never be lightly relinquished. The toleration of religious differences, the substantial freedom of speech, the freedoms of writing and association, the free access to a minimum schooling, the free use of minimum services,—these are freedoms the value of which can be disparaged only by an irresponsible mind which takes them for granted and entertains no thought of what social life would be like without them.

When with these freedoms are the right of election and the universal ballot, and the right to oppose and replace the governing bodies at specified intervals, every means is present for the ultimate attainment of desirable and practicable measures. Political democracy is not, then, a mere form which might be exchanged for some other form. It is the essential framework of democracy itself in the widest social and economic sense.

It is for the supplementing of that framework that the definition and achievement of yet further rights is required. The peoples of an advanced civilization come to feel that a pooling of strength should make a certain physical security available to every citizen. They desire a common social purpose or outlook. They feel that every citizen should have an equal opportunity to develop inherent talent and find a satisfying role in the functioning society. Any demand for absolute equality in goods and status is disallowed by nature, but the presumption by which these other claims are advanced as rights does deserve the attention and inquiry of good will.

Service, the only proper foundation of social rights, must exist primarily: claims of further rights, if based on service or potential usefulness, are valid. For this inquiry, it is necessary to take the broadest possible view of society's economic activities—to see the process as a whole. For the general fund of social wealth, that sum of goods upon which the national income is based and from which its individual shares are paid out, is the total product of what is conveniently called "the economic system."

Industry is a world of farms, mines, timber concessions, fisheries, processing plants, workshops, factories, and power stations, operated by staffs of workers and producing consumable goods. And this fact should soon be obvious: their multifarious operations are mutually dependent. Now every one of the workers engaged must be in receipt of some portion of the goods so produced, or they could not continue to work; and it is plain that the portion received is their right. It is not a gratuity; it is not a charity; it is a rightful compensation for labor performed.

This point must be extended. There are many people working at other tasks than those of direct production; accounting, transportation, and distribution are necessary if the goods produced are to reach the final consumer. All these workers also have their rightful claims to a portion of the total product; and the principle applies to many other services even further removed from direct production, services which indirectly add to the value of the goods, or to the welfare and efficiency of the people producing them.

This broad social view of a right relating to productive service seems incontestable. It is not quite the view circulated by the commercial organizers of production; and yet the only difference is that it *is* social, and not proprietory. The private proprietor is naturally influenced by his control of the physical *means* of production. He decides upon the tasks to be performed, he employs and pays the workers, he discharges the workers when his profit is insufficient. It is clear that he recognizes the principle of reward for service in production, but because of his self-interest he sees the service as to himself rather than to society.

The readiest objection at this point is that *equality* in service does not exist; also, that when there is no longer need for a service, payment quite properly ceases. Such argument is certainly plausible. Inequality of individual capacity is an eradicable fact. There are always possibilities of improvement through training and education; but such possibilities have been overstated by environmentalists. However, there is still other truth to recognize. Production is a social process in a sense very pertinent to everyone: no one person can produce much of that which is needed for personal sustenance. Most people in an advanced industrial community produce hardly anything they personally appropriate, enjoy, and consume.

This fact does not imply equality, but it does make the fixing of just standards of recompense and income a matter requiring careful consideration. The individual citizen, whatever his function, is contributing but a small fraction of the food he eats, the clothes he wears, the books he reads, the furniture and instruments he uses, the buildings and streets and vehicles which shelter and support and carry him about. To have a social conscience means to realize this fact in all its significance—to realize that the products possessed and enjoyed by all have not been won wholly by personal effort, but by the cooperative labor, skill, and genius of a multitude of individuals. This realization induces a profound sense of obligation to others; and it makes the existing scale of rewards seem arbitrary, and imposed by power rather than by justice.

The idea that payment properly stops when service stops is also too particular and personal to be humane. An individual employer may no longer need the service of a particular workman, but the community as a whole is always in need of the flow of consumable goods, and therefore of the labor which supplies it. The worker himself requires uninterrupted feeding and shelter, and socially considered it is unjust to withhold these requirements when his service has been stopped despite his own will.

Scientific industrial production, because of its complex organization, its technical requirements, its specialized skills, and its intricate relations with the market which absorbs its products, has become technically social no matter what its legal definition or the prepossessions of its directors may be.

It is at this point that tension appears. The right of control in industry, the right of hiring and dismissing employes, the power of continuing or discontinuing production, the power to apportion the fruits of production, may legally remain in the hands of individuals not finally responsible to anyone but themselves. Hence

exists an ever-present possibility of an inadequate supply of goods regardless of social needs. It is also a serious matter that those who hold the power of distribution will always reward themselves most generously.

Possession of private property is in itself no evil. Much nonsense has been uttered by fanatic doctrinaires about such possession. The fact remains that an interest in personal property was necessary to raise the levels of production above those of the primitive community, and that the rightful use and responsible management of property is a large factor in the enhancement of personal character. The man who has no property is a poor man: he is poor in goods; he is also, generally speaking, poor in spirit. The great evil in the concentration of ownership of the means of production lies in the reduction of the majority to the status of proletarians.

The industrial property of great corporations cannot now be liquidated and redistributed; the widespread holding of paper shares is not an effective solution. Concentration in this field must therefore be accepted. But its social character will have to be legally recognized, and its managers made generally responsible to the community needs. This transformation presents an enormous problem—a problem which political, economic, and legal experts must solve. When solved, the tension between investors' and consumers' rights shall have been eliminated. The social view will then be justified, and the way will be open to secure a just return for individual service.

Even so, the question of private property is not settled: the original benefits of ownership are neither restored nor fully compensated. A certain socio-religious school may profess to be satisfied that the drift of property away from individuals is destined to be completed; it may claim that the common man enjoys the consequent absence of responsibility, along with dependence upon the will and creative power of an oligarchy. But the converse of helplessness is always exploitation. There is no guaranty that the state organization, its military and police powers, and its new industrial controls or ownership, will not fall into the hands of despotism through conspiracy or violence or slow penetration. In such case the allocation of rewards will inevitably be more unjust than ever before.

It is from this consideration that the individual ownership of economic reserves seems most necessary. But even short of state tyranny, minor crises must always be provided against. Democratic committees and socially responsible guilds will sometimes miscalculate. There will always be areas of occasional distress. Economic reasons will therefore reinforce psychological and political reasons in favor of a widespread personal ownership of small homesteads and small artisan and business enterprises.

A revised method of distributing social income is necessary in achieving a perfectly healthy community spirit. The method of private business has been the arbitrary allotment of wages. The method of the liberal state has been to make an immediate increase of "social services" in one direction while extorting a refund or levy from another. Both these methods fall short of satisfaction. The first is unjust to those lacking exceptional ability; the second seems equally unjust to the minority whose substantial income is in part unduly confiscated. Were industry organized and operated on the basis of human welfare, individual income could be more evenly allocated in the first instance, with the revenue necessary for the administration of the state drawn from the same source. If the personal income tax could be abolished, no class antagonisms would cluster around the sense of being "robbed" by the state on the one hand, or of being dependent upon administrative patronage on the other.

"Social service" means those various forms of assistance to a civilized life for which the individual is unable to pay as they are required. Inadequate money income is not the only cause of this inability: another cause is the pure accident of misfortune. Hence it is now generally recognized that pensions, family allowances, unemployment and injury compensations, medical expenses and other benefits, should be met by the institution of insurance funds. The principle is recognized and is being put into practice. But it may be urged that only within an environment of socialized industry can social insurance be made completely fair, logical, and acceptable to every citizen. For only then can the regular payment of equal premiums be imposed without distinction upon all working people. The special levy upon "employers" would be non-existent. The cost of public education, and other services not included in insurance, might be acquired by a general assessment upon industry.

A common social purpose, one of the rights claimed in addition to the freedoms of political democracy, is not possible in a community which has extremes of poverty and riches. A marked and unjust inequality of wealth necessarily involves disunity: it involves antagonistic mental attitudes and moral outlooks, with sporadic attempts at violent readjustment from one side or the other. Any community which is at all a going concern runs upon a large element of assent; but the more this passive assent can become conscious and active, the more there is a social peace, deeply rooted and impregnable.

At the present time, the term "progressive" requires clarification. Progress often seems to imply merely a substitution of the artifical and the complex for the natural and the simple, while cultural or spiritual betterment frequently demands precisely the reverse. In personal development, the intelligent individual acquires from experience a will to select from possibilities of behavior and mode of life, regardless of such epithets as "old" and "new." Just so, it is reasonable to suppose, might the higher social intelligence develop.

A community might review its history in the planning of its future. In appraising its present methods, manners, and practices by the standard of an ideal good, it would certainly seek to reshape that which is deleterious, but not necessarily into unprecedented forms. Conceivably, for special purposes and desirable ends, it might revive some older forms of intrinsically greater worth, which were lost in an unplanned, purposeless evolution. It might thus seem to be as much regressive as progressive. For instance, a return to the medieval principle of production guilds is not inconceivable. A sense of social purpose might often give rein to expansion, but it might also check this or that development and simplify here and there in the interests of a greater happiness.

The partisan shibboleths or the apparent directions matter little. It is the standard set up ahead that matters.

New Words For Old

HERBERT A. STURGES

The modern word "personality" or "self" corresponds to the good old word "soul." We can distinguish between the older and the newer words by studying the ideas with which they are related. We speak of personality in terms of cause and effect. The self is therefore thought of as a product of conditions in which it develops. In his brief but illuminating book, *The Mind in the Making,* James Harvey Robinson shows how the adult mind depends on the animal mind, the savage mind, and the child mind. The brutality of animal evolution is a causal factor in human personality. The conflict patterns of the lives of our human ancestors survive in our behavior. We are all tainted with the villainy of the past.

The survival of nations seems to depend on their willingness and ability to fight successfully for wealth. The poor nations organize for military conquest. The rich nations resist this aggression. The struggle for wealth is a matter of life or death for modern nations.

As a citizen, the personality of a modern man is peaceful towards his fellow citizens, but violent and destructive against citizens of other countries. This is the taint inherited from our ancestors and perpetuated by conditions of scarcity in the modern world. With this kind of poisoned personality modern man has little chance for spiritual development. The tranquillity of domestic life is interrupted by conditions of ruthless brutality. The self is divided between peace with the fellow men who are fellow citizens, and deadly warfare with fellow men who are not fellow citizens. The cause of this spiritual tragedy lies outside the personality, in political conflict, which in turn is caused by economic scarcity. Any achievements of humanity in science, religion, and education are overwhelmed by the catastrophe of war. Modern man is truly human towards his fellow citizens, but he is a wild beast towards the citizens of other nations with which his own nation is at war for wealth. It is therefore useless for education or religion to attempt to produce stable human personality. Their praiseworthy efforts are nullified by war. Whatever they accomplish in building up wholesome personality is destroyed by war.

The refinements of the soul of man contributed by the higher branches of culture cannot survive in the struggle for existence, caused by scarcity.

The modern word for sin is the "complex." In the study of the self, under the principles of cause and effect, we find many conditions which warp and tangle the personality. We understand how harsh treatment of a child causes defects in his character. The complex may be deep-seated and enduring, or it may be superficial and easy to remedy. In all cases it is considered as an effect of recognized causes. The notion of complex is therefore a superior substitute for that of sin, whose origins are either unaccounted for, or only vaguely explained.

When a personality defect exists in many individuals of the same social group, it is a social complex. It is a tangle of the social mind, a distortion of the soul of society. The group behavior of modern man shows bad social complexes, widespread in their extent and devastating in their results. The underlying cause and condition of a great deal of this social sin and sinfulness lies in the competitive struggle for wealth, which is in turn largely due to scarcity.

Security is a word which fits in with other modern words, modern ideas, and modern ideals. Modern man is told that his security, the security of his family and his nation, is something which depends on acts and events. It is fortunate that modern society has these ideas which belong together in our modern scientific thinking. Our social sciences, as presented by our philosopher-teachers, give mankind a chance. By working and planning for security, we probably have a better chance to get it.

The idea of security belongs with other ideas growing out of a scientific study of social processes. These sciences are based on observation of cause and effect in our social life. By using this growing knowledge of the facts, control of social processes becomes increasingly possible.

The older word for security is salvation. In the older picture, we sought salvation for the soul from sin and its consequences. Modern man tries to use scientific methods to obtain security against want, the fear of want, and other complexes which menace his personality. Through scientific observation and analysis we hope to prevent evil conditions, rather than to wait for them to occur and then try to cure or escape them by salvation.

As an example of the way our modern thinking runs, take the thought that security for all depends on full employment. It seems clear that in order to prevent the bad conditions which accompany unemployment we must have continuous full employment. We must have full employment in order to have full production of life goods. We should welcome full employment and its result, full production. But many plans for full employment will fail because so many planners will turn against their own plans for full employment just as soon as full employment starts to create full production.

Our world of scarcity and insecurity is a complex of attitudes and institutions. The big and powerful influences of life work for a perpetuation of this system. Under these circumstances as soon as full employment results in full production of a plentiful supply of goods, full employment will be brought to an end. The price-profit system of scarcity cannot possibly tolerate continuous full employment because the scarcity system would be quickly destroyed by full production.

Only in the abundance system can we make use of modern social scientific knowledge to prevent the evils which accompany the arbitrary and artificial limitations on production and employment that are necessary to maintain prices and profits. Only by social planning for plenty can we achieve security from want, war, and other conditions which destroy our peace and happiness.

By means of planning for full production and for population control in different parts of the world, we may be able to establish and maintain a world society freed by a plentiful supply of all good things from the insecurity of the struggle for existence. In the new world of abundance, humanity may hope to realize its higher possibilities in a good life of good will and good works.

Voices of Latin America*

VIII. Ezequiel Martínez Estrada: Argentine Critic

JOHN H. HERSHEY

A searching X-ray picture of his country is made in the writings of the Argentine poet, teacher, and essayist, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, born on September 14, 1895, in San José de la Esquina in the northeastern province of Sante Fe. One of his numerous activities is that of being a professor in the National College of La Plata. The role of this and other national colleges in the educational structure of that country has been explained by Risieri Frondizi, another Argentine professor, in a lecture delivered in the United States in which he said:

> Broadly speaking, the secondary school in Argentina is formed by the national college, the normal school and the technical school. As far as the number of students is concerned, the national college is the most important of the four . . . Our national college corresponds to your high school plus the first two years of college; it is almost equivalent to the American junior college.

Besides being a teacher, Martínez Estrada is also an author. Recognized as one of the outstanding present-day writers of his country, he has been chosen president of the Argentine Society of Writers whose headquarters is in the Casa del Teatro in Buenos Aires; in 1944 he was re-elected to that office for the period 1944-46. His writing activities are varied. He is a collaborator on *La Nación,* a leading daily newspaper published in the Argentine capital, and on such periodicals as *SUR, Libertad Creadora,* and others. As a poet, a number of books of poems are to his credit, some of which have received prizes in literature. One of his prose works is *La Cabeza de Goliah,* the head of the giant being Buenos Aires itself. The author's most important book in prose thus far is his *Radiografía de la Pampa* for which the second national prize in literature in 1933 was received. The book was published again in 1942 in two volumes by Editorial Losada, S.A., Buenos Aires, in its Contemporary Library series.

Let us consider Martínez Estrada's X-ray picture of Argentina as shown in his *Radiografía de la Pampa.* The book is panoramic. A wide diversity of subjects is dealt with in the work, some briefly and others at great length. Among the themes are the following stated at random: The Argentine earth, the writing of history, politics, economics, organized religion, agriculture, sex, the Spanish language, the city and the country, machinery and civilization, law, education, the tango and the carnival, culture. An adequate account of the two-volume work could therefore hardly be given in a short article. Our aim, however, is to present in the following paragraphs some of Martínez Estrada's ideas and attitudes in an objective manner. But his outlook, it may be mentioned here, would be opposed in a number of respects by other Argentines. One native of that country, in commenting on Martínez Estrada, says that "the vision of Argentina which he gives is false because he is incapable of seeing the progressive forces which exist in the country and because he does not know how to observe the historic movement, this permanent evolution of things which is what engenders optimism."

Besides covering many subjects, *Radiografía de la Pampa* is critical and furthermore pessimistic. The spirit of the work reveals an author, however, who does not write to be "clever" or to indulge in mere muckraking. Martínez Estrada, one feels, writes rather from a deep sense of morality, justice, and humanity. Examples of his treatment of three different themes follow. About the writing of the history of his country, for instance, he says what would be challenged by at least some other Argentines: "No one has said the truth about Alvear, Pueyrredon . . . Rosas. Their authentic figures are taboo. . . . Military history excepted, commerce, science, culture, diplomacy, politics have not reached the category of historical processes or even of subjects." With regard to organized religion, he says that the evangelization of Spanish America was not a religious but an ecclesiastical enterprise. The missionaries were a complement of the armed invasion of the New World in order to establish a pacific regime and a certain dogma. The aborigines were forced to labor with the promise of paradise after death. Today organized religion in Argentina is an institution of ritual and festivals. Religion is converted into an "external liturgy" and an "ostentation of piety" so contrary to its essence. The cathedrals in the cities are symbolic of material display rather than of spiritual life. "The word of God has not sounded in their naves."

With reference to the cultural condition of Argentina as a whole, Martínez Estrada is also pessimistic. He writes:

> The contemporary level of what we ought to understand by the moral and intellectual state, has descended in a curve as pronounced as that which is upward in the tables of production and material values. With the difference that the ascendant diagram corresponds to traffic in international commerce, and the descendent to the decline of Argentina itself.

More affirmatively, the Argentine critic states four problems that beset his country. First is the problem of education. Argentina, he says, builds universities in the larger cities while many of the population are unable to read and write. (The degree of illiteracy in Argentina has been variously estimated to be anywhere from 12 to 25 per cent. Of the South American countries, Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile are the lowest in illiteracy.) To overcome a difficulty without destroying it, Martínez Estrada points out in an interesting analogy, one can build a bridge as a way of escape; but the old river continues to flow under the new structure. The university is like a bridge because for it the problem of primary instruction does not exist.

The second problem of the southern nation is that of communication and transportation. The difficulty of Argentina is its distances, solitude, and vastness. Isolation and poverty are persistent evils of the interior, while the littoral prospers. Railroad lines, for example, were not planned to meet the economic needs of the vast interior. The myopia of having communications for sterile regions follows the military-political conception which dominates the Argentine Government. The truth and the life, Martínez Estrada insists, are in the interior of the nation where are the children of tomorrow.

National unity is the third problem which our author considers. The modern telegraph and automobile would seem to be means of uniting the population, but on the contrary they separate because the large cities draw all the wealth of the interior to themselves. The "mon-

*The eighth of a series of articles on Latin-American leaders appearing from time to time in the columns of UNITY.

strous growth" of Buenos Aires has made the interior dependent on it and worse in condition. Between the mountains and plateaus where the Indians live, and the pampas or plains where the whites dwell, is a great difference in cultural level. When human beings of the pampa are together it is not in any genuine association, but merely as if they occupied a narrow space in a train or theater. In Buenos Aires itself the porteño, or resident of the capital, looks not so much toward the interior as toward Europe. Consequently, what Argentina needs is the "formation of a national soul."

Finally, another problem needs solution. The Argentine writes: "It should be sufficient to see among ourselves the cases in which the Constitution has been violated or interpreted according to circumstances, in which the Executive Power imposes its doctrine on the Tribunal . . . the appearance in the chambers of parasitical theories of fraud and the ethical impunity of actions, in order to comprehend that justice and the sense of justice are not joined." The necessity, therefore, is for "honesty in the exercise of power." Thus Martínez Estrada calls for education to abolish illiteracy, for adequate means of communication and transportation to end isolation, for the formation of genuine national unity, and for veracity in government.

Not only has the Argentine written about his own country, but he has expressed his views of the United States as well. It was on invitation of the State Department that he visited the United States in 1942 for a period of three months, arriving in Washington, D.C. at the end of June. He visited a number of cities and rural districts, as well as universities, libraries, and museums; he wrote his opinions in an article in the Argentine cultural periodical, *Libertad Creadora* (No. 2, 1943). As it is of interest to know what a Latin-American, and perhaps especially an Argentine, thinks of the North American country, the following gives a few of his observations.

We may think, Martínez Estrada points out, of three planes of existence: first, nature or the forces of earth; secondly, man himself; and thirdly, human inventions and creations which could be called "second nature." In many countries there is a close relation between earth and man; excessive heat, for example, may make man a slave of nature. In contrast is a land like the United States which is highly industrialized and mechanized. Here it is not so much the forces of nature as the inventions of man that dominate the population. Cities, people, trains, shops do not indeed differ from those in other industrialized countries, except that all is "coordinated with more precise adjustment, moved by more uniform rhythm, animated by firmer decision, all facilitating the task of living." Even in the uncertain period of war his "impression was of tranquility and well-being." This highly mechanized civilization is viewed by its citizens not as their master but as their servant. "The United States," Martínez Estrada concludes, "has found since before its Independence, from the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, what was the mission of man, his destiny on earth, and has labored with faith and energy to reconquer it as a certain promise, and not merely to occupy it as a fraudulent owner by sedentary occupation."

Political Crocodile

The political crocodile, Chicanery,
With expansive grins,
Devours the trustful;
Basks in the fat-laden mud
Of privilege;
Grinds the bones of freedom to dust
Between his yellow teeth;
Chokes children to death
In the slime of malnutrition.
Crush this reptile, fellow citizens,
Or creep into the caldron of his jaws
And perish; blind,
Subservient as you lived!

ETHEL GERTRUDE STOWE.

The Study Table

Zionism

HIS TERRIBLE SWIFT SWORD. *By the Very Rev. Dr. Norman Maclean. New York (70 Fifth Ave.): The Christian Council on Palestine. 126 pp. 25 cents.*

One of the tragedies that has been heaped upon other tragedies in the whole bloody case of Palestine has been the manner in which the bulk of the Christian world has allowed itself to be rendered mute in the face of the unprecedented and ghastly brutality practiced against the Jewish peoples in recent years. To a disgraceful extent silence and passivity have been the characteristics of a great portion of Christian leadership even on so obvious an issue as that of the British betrayal of Zionism. One remembers that while he lived, Dr. William Temple refused to be a partner to silence. He was a brilliant and moving exception. So also is Dr. Norman Maclean. One of Britain's most prominent churchmen, chaplain-in-ordinary to the King, former moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, he, too, refuses to be silent. His words flow in torrents, with all the passionate fury of an Amos, and like Amos it is a conception of divine justice that moves him to speak. There is much about the problem of Palestine that is confusing to many, but not to Dr. Maclean.

He sees things in a single light. The honor of the British Empire has been defiled by the betrayal of the Balfour Declaration. For him it is God's will that Britain be the instrumentality for the return of Canaan to those to whom it had been promised. Suffocated by its own fears for self-preservation, the British government turned to the worship of the heathen idol "Appeasement" and now with shame upon its head Britain stands for judgment before the bar of divine justice.

Dr. Maclean pleads a prophetic case. There is still time, he says, for the people of England, both as Christians and as Britishers, to stay the terrible swift sword of retribution. By whatever means it may require, the Balfour Declaration must be implemented and the odious White Paper withdrawn. The evidence to support such action is paraded across the pages like battalions of muscular men striding through an open field. Of importance to not a few is Dr. Maclean's appraisal of Arab claims. Quite frankly he is disdainful of Arab competence for freedom. For the present at least they

are incapable of doing little other than to live parasitically on the fruits of Jewish zeal and industry. Arab terrorism exists as the evil reward of cowardly British policy and Nazi intrigue. Dr. Maclean would see it crushed out with whatever force is necessary.

The author's confidence in the ability of the Jews to do their part is magnificent: ". . . labour is moulding and shaping the Jewish race anew. There they are in their settlements, far scattered, hewing stones, blasting rocks, digging drains, planting trees."

This is a moving book to read in these days when we are awaiting anxiously the findings of the joint Anglo-American Commission studying Palestinian Affairs. Dr. Maclean's theology is ponderous and his over-all Empire concept is that of an ecclesiastical Churchill, but his zeal for the welfare of a horribly persecuted and demoralized people provokes the deepest response. Whether it be by God's justice or by human justice, the gates of the ancient promised land must be opened and kept open for all those of Jewish faith who would renew the soil with their own new lives.

JACK MENDELSOHN, JR.

Important Pamphlet

ERASING THE COLOR LINE. *By George M. Houser. Foreword by A. Philip Randolph. New York (2920 Broadway): Fellowship Publications. 64 pp. 25 cents.*

Once in a while, a pamphlet is published which, because of its significance, merits review. Such a booklet is *Erasing the Color Line* which may be just as important in eliminating Jim Crow as, for example, Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*—and which took just as long to compile.

This 64-page volume gives an ample answer to the $64 question often facing liberal groups: What can we *do* to eliminate some of the discriminations we know exist? Liberal groups—youth and adult, secular and religious—are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with pretty speeches about better race relations. Discussions and research are, of course, necessary. Too often, however, when groups are ready to do something about discriminations in their communities, they are at a loss to know exactly what to do. And then somebody conveniently comes along with a proposal to begin to study another subject!

This booklet is a collection of case histories on what small interracial groups of determined individuals have done the country over to make small—but collectively significant—inroads against Jim Crow in our land. A chapter on "Prejudice and Peanut Galleries" tells how indignant citizens in four communities, from Denver to Baltimore, helped to end segregation in the theaters of their neighborhoods. There are case histories on how University of Chicago students (including Unitarians) opened up the University Barber Shop and how Oberlin students had to open up a new barber shop to obtain unsegregated service. And there are many other actual cases of ending discriminations in restaurants, swimming pools, and skating rinks. There are also experiences and techniques of lessening discrimination in Federal prison—for those who might be in a position some day to do something on this score!

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The Field

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acting in opposition to this New York State issue.

(d) Philip Schug of Urbana led a noble fight on the released time issue. Publicity was unfortunate and a misrepresentation. When the details are examined, Mr. Schug is clearly to be congratulated for his fight. However, we learn from that case the need for a form of organization that will prevent the opposition from exploiting particular and unpopular labels such as "free-thinker," "athiest," etc. This is purely and simply a matter of strategy. Local committees should be formed that are non-sectarian, composed of individuals willing to work on a continuing issue, listing a broad assortment of organizations for purposes of identification only, drawing in as many evangelical ministers as possible, as well as educators, lawyers, and civic leaders.

(e) In October, the Chairman spoke briefly at a meeting of the Division of Education Advisory Council, Boston, concerning the need for coordinating and extending organization to combat sectarianism in the public schools. The Division is on record in opposition to the released time program, has given help in the preparation and issuance of this memorandum. President Eliot of the American Unitarian Association has long been on record in opposition to the released time programs as now constituted.

(f) In response to a request made in October by Mr. Fritchman for a "quickie" article by the undersigned, an article was published calling for Unitarian action in the November *Christian Register*.

III. *Check List for Action.* What Unitarians can do.

(a) The chief issue before us is the Mead-Aiken Bill now before Congress, which would appropriate federal funds for aid to public and non-public schools including *parochial schools of all kinds.* The National Catholic Welfare Council has consistently obstructed federal aid to under-privileged school districts except on its own terms—equal availability to non-public and public schools. This would represent the complete breakdown of separation of church and state as the bill provides for trustees to administer the funds in states having laws prohibiting use of public funds for non-public schools. Thus it perniciously circumvents the will of the voters in local states. ACTION: Write your own Senator or Congressman opposing the Mead-Aiken Bill (S 717), affirming the need for separation of church and state and favoring the Hill-Thomas-Rampeck Bill (S 181) which is endorsed by The American Education Fellowship and its publication, *Progressive Education.* Send for copies of these bills and promote discussion on them, and action.

(b) *Prepare and Circulate* resolutions as the result of group discussion in your church or at regional conferences. Examples of such action are: the resolution passed by the Mohawk Valley Conference; the resolution introduced at the fall meeting and to be acted on at the annual meeting by the Schenectady congregation; action against high school credit taken by the Ithaca Church which had to be answered publicly by State Board of Education authorities at Albany. Also a resolution by the Philadelphia Ethical Society.

(c) Send the chairman of the U.F.S.J. committee from one to twenty names and addresses of key persons in your community, according to its size, known to you to be active in support of maintenance of separation of church and state. Put down organizational ties for identification only. These names will be used for circulation of literature on the issue and shared with the American Education Fellowship for similar purposes. Duplicate lists are desired.

(d) A chief service of Unitarians can be to furnish initiative and leadership in the organization of local committees according to the specifications in II (d) above. If you can call a group together to organize a local group in this way, communicate with the Chairman of the U.F.S.J. Committee and the Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State of the American Educational Fellowship, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

(e) Send clippings of local action or issues concerning maintenance of separation of church and state to the above.

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The Study Table

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In addition to case histories, this booklet summarizes the techniques of non-violent direct action. This method has been unconsciously used to lessen racial discrimination for many years, but it was a group on Chicago's South Side—the Committee of Racial Equality (CORE)—which first consistently applied these principles to Jim Crow. One of the longtime friends of the various CORE groups which have sprung up in various parts of the country is Mr. A. Philip Randolph, well-known labor leader, who wrote the introduction to this leaflet. Mr. Randolph is himself something of an expert on direct action, for it was he who threatened President Roosevelt with a march on Washington unless the president signed an executive order establishing a Fair Employment Practice Committee.

This is not just another explanation of the problems affecting minorities, and it is not just another call for action. The market is glutted with books of this kind even if the shelves of the white supremacists are not. But this booklet, happily, is a guide for those Negro, white, and interracial organizations which are eager and courageous enough to act.

HOMER A. JACK.

Books Received

AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, *1945-46. Prepared by the Staff of The American Jewish Committee under the direction of Harry Schneiderman and Julius B. Maller, Editors. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. 760 pp. $3.00.*

G-SUITING THE BODY. *By Ralph M. Harper. Published by E. C. Schirmer Co., 221 Columbus Avenue, Boston 16, Mass. Cloth bound, $1.00; paper cover, 50c.*

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN. *By John Moody. Published by Sheed & Ward, 63 Fifth Avenue, New York City. 353 pp. $3.75.*

OVER THE SEA, THE SKY. *By Edwin McNeill Poteat. Published by Harper & Bros., 49 East 33rd Street, New York City. 70 pp. $1.50.*

THOUGHTS FOR TODAY. *By William Wallace Rose. Published by The Murray Press, 16 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Mass. 80 pp. $1.00.*

THE TRINITY AND CHRISTIAN DEVOTION. *By Charles W. Lowry. Published by Harper & Bros., 49 East 33rd Street, New York City. 162 pp. $1.50.*

TRIUMPHANT LIVING! *By Nellie E. Friend. Published by The Murray Press, 16 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Mass. 124 pp.*

Slaves

A whistle screams across the stifling heat,
A thousand weary men lay down their loads,
With heavy sighs they turn on leaden feet
To wander down a thousand different roads.

A thousand bodies sit beside a board,
A thousand mouths are stuffed with meat and bread,
All things except the tired flesh ignored,
A thousand captives stumble into bed.

CECILE BONHAM.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 174)

(f) Ordway Tead, Editor, Social and Economic Books of Harpers, wrote on November 13 as follows:

Dear Mr. Wilson:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 4 recommending a paperbound edition of Conrad Moehlman's *School and Church: The American Way.* I have now taken steps to prepare such an edition which should be available early in the new year and have established a discount sale on a $1.00 printing as follows: 1-9 copies, $1.00; 10-99 copies 80c; 100 copies or more 75c. These prices are F.O.B. New York. . . . Since I plan to limit this printing virtually to quantity orders *in hand in advance of publication,* I should be glad if you would let me know whether you would be able to make any advance order of a quantity. Cordially yours,

Ordway Tead.

It is important that as many copies of this volume be printed as possible. The Chairman will order at least 100 copies but has neither funds nor storage space for more. However, if orders come promptly to him, he will find ways to handle this item. This book is the most useful, authoritative, and provocative book in the field and should be given prompt support as a tool of the campaign for maintaining separation of church and state. Orders for ten copies or more will be sent direct to you by the publisher with bill at the price shown above, but please clear the order now through Edwin Wilson, 1201 Union Street, Schenectady 8, New York. The regular edition at $2.50 may be ordered now.

(g) Buy and distribute literature on the Week Day Released Time issue. See Lucille B. Milner, *New Republic* for August 13 on "Church, State and School," for the best brief summary of the current issue. Also, "The Case to Maintain Separation of Church and State" published by a committee of that name at 963 Penobscot Bldg., Detroit 26, which also has some more recent information on state legislation in Illinois. Peter Samsom at San Diego recently published a good sermon on Released Time Religious Education, which he can send at 5c a copy.

(h) If you are to publish anything in the field of Separation of Church and State, send an advance proof or carbon of the manuscript to the Chairman who will negotiate for the purchase of extra copies if it is felt to be widely useful to the cause.

(i) Funds for mailing, printing, mimeographing and clerical help will be needed by this committee. Contributions may be sent to the Chairman who will make an accounting through the U.F.S.J.

(j) A corollary to opposition to sectarian instruction which utilizes the power of the public school over the child to advance its ends is more and better religious education in our own churches. Our position is not fully defensible unless every Unitarian minister and layman who is active in such opposition is also doing his utmost to support and improve the religious education program in his own church. The Division of Education, American Unitarian Association, Boston, is prepared to give you assistance in this matter.

(k) Watch your state legislature and inform the chairman of bills pending or newly introduced in your state. Many legislative proposals are appearing throughout the nation.

(l) Horace Mann was born May 4, 1796. That means that the first Sunday in May, 1946, can be observed as his 150th Anniversary. The undersigned suggests that all Unitarians observe that day with a service and sermon devoted to his life and works, particularly in combating sectarianism in our schools; that the American Unitarian Association make available to ministers, materials which can be used in such services and sermons —and available well in advance of that date—including publicity materials; and that as the aftermath of this an important place be given at the May meetings to study and action in opposition to sectarianism in our schools.

Edwin H. Wilson, Chairman,
Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

Western Conference News

RANDALL S. HILTON, Executive Secretary
700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago 15, Illinois

ALLIANCE ADVANCES

The most recent official reports show that the following sixteen Alliances in the Western Conference have followed the General Alliance reorganization plan and have set up their committees accordingly:

Alton	Detroit
Chicago, Third	Fort Wayne
Cincinnati, First	Indianapolis
Cincinnati, St. John's	Lincoln
Colorado Springs	Louisville, Clifton
Davenport	Louisville, First
Dayton	Madison
Denver	Omaha

This year the Alliance is a part of the United Unitarian Appeal. All of our Alliances are cooperating with their local Appeal drive. As of January 7 only four Alliances had reported to the General Alliance that they had paid the full portion or more of their church's quota. They are:

Chicago, Unity	Lincoln
Cincinnati, St. John's	Underwood

That other Alliances in the Conference have set up their committees on the reorganized plan and have paid their portion of the United Appeal is no doubt true, but they have not so reported to the General Alliance headquarters.

ALLIANCE BOARD MEETS IN MID-WEST

For the first time in history the General Alliance Board of Directors will hold a meeting in the Mid-West. It will meet in Chicago on March 6, 7, and 8.

On March 6 the Executive Committee will meet.

On March 7 an Alliance Workshop will be held to which all Alliance women in the area are invited. The Workshop will have morning and afternoon sessions. In the evening there will be a banquet and a speaker of note.

On March 8 the Board of Directors will meet.

Arrangements for these sessions are in charge of Mrs. Lou H. Haycock, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago 15, Illinois. Mrs. Haycock is Regional Vice President for the Mid-West. Women desiring to attend the Workshop on March 7 are requested to write to Mrs. Haycock.

RAYMOND COPE

Rev. Raymond Cope, minister of the Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City and formerly minister at Dayton, has accepted the invitation to become the minister of the church in Berkeley, California. He will begin his new work on April 1, 1946.

ROCKFORD

Rev. Jack Mendelsohn, Jr., minister of the Beverly Unitarian Fellowship, Chicago, will become the minister of the Church of the Christian Union (Unitarian) in Rockford, Illinois, on March 1, 1946.

ALTON

The Alton church now has a new movie projector and screen as the result of a special fund drive which was oversubscribed.

ST. LOUIS

As a result of the special United Unitarian Appeal drive which culminated with the Christmas Service offering, the St. Louis church has gone way over its quota for the Appeal. The Christmas offering amounted to $1,588 and more is still to come. This is an example which all of our churches could afford to follow.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS

On January 6 the members of the Lawrence Unitarian Church voted to disband their fellowship. The $20,000 endowment and the church building are now the property of the American Unitarian Association. Most of the members of the Lawrence church have transferred their membership to the church in Kansas City, Missouri. Student work in Lawrence and other Unitarian activities there are now under the supervision of Rev. R. Lester Mondale, minister of the Kansas City church. The Lawrence church was organized in 1856.

FOOD DRIVE A SUCCESS

The Food-for-Europe drive, which was started by the Unitarian Service Committee in December and which is still continuing, has met with enthusiastic and generous response. More than 221 tons of food have been made available for European relief through the contributions of canned goods and money from our churches throughout the country. An increasing number of the Western Conference churches are participating in this campaign. If you are not already contributing, start now!

DENVER TO ENTERTAIN CONFERENCE

Plans are under way for entertaining the annual meetings of the Western Unitarian Conference. This is the first time the Conference has been in Denver or so far west. You are urged to begin planning now to have delegates from your church at this meeting. This year marks the 75th Anniversary of the Denver church and these sessions are a part of this celebration. A cordial welcome awaits you.

PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

Pierre van Paassen, best-seller author and nationally known lecturer, is now an ordained Unitarian minister. Mr. Hilton is in correspondence with Dr. van Paassen for the purpose of arranging a series of engagements in the Western Conference. If your church would like to have him speak, write to Mr. Hilton immediately.

GENEVA DATES CHANGED

The Lake Geneva Conference will be held August 18-25. These were the original dates desired by the Board but they were not available. Having it at this time will also enable the American Unitarian Youth to hold their national convention August 23-25 during the conference there. Please note this change and make your plans accordingly.

WESTERN CONFERENCE ANNUAL MEETING, DENVER, COLORADO
May 31-June 2, 1946